

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 021311

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY S/S:FVORTIZ

APPROVED BY S/S:ORTIZ

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R 281923Z JAN 76 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

S E C R E T STATE 021311

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT KINSHASA 595 ACTION SECSTATE 22 JAN 76

QUOTE

S E C R E T KINSHASA 0595

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DEPT PLEASE PASS USUN IMMEDIATE AND USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE AND
OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR AO

SUBJ: ANGOLA: CONSULTATION WITH MOBUTU JAN 21

REF: STATE 14140

1. SUMMARY: DESPITE CONTINUING PREOCCUPATION WITH THREAT TO ZAIRE'S
SECURITY, MOBUTU REMAINS COMMITTED TO PLAYING ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC
ROLE ON ANGOLA. GOZ'S PRESENT INTENTION IS TO CONSULT WITH ZAMBIA,
SENAGAL AND CAMEROON WITH VIEW TO HAVING DELEGATION AT FON MIN
LEVEL PRESENT CASE OF AFRICAN MODERATES IN WASHINGTON. MOBUTU ASKED
FOR US ASSISTANCE IN COUNTERING PRESSURES ON UGANDA AND RWANDA TO
RECOGNIZE MPLA. END SUMMARY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 021311

2. I MET WITH MOBUTU ALONE FOR ONE HOUR EVENING JAN 21. PRES

OBTAINING US ASSURANCES WITH RESPECT TO ZAIRE'S SECURITY IN THE FACE OF THE SOVIET THREAT; FOR THIS NGUZA SHOULD GO TO WASHINGTON SOONEST TO DELIVER MOBUTU'S LETTER TO PRES FORD AND TO DISCUSS MATTERS WITH HIGH US OFFICIALS. SECOND, GALVANIZE KEY AFRICAN MODERATES TO PLAY MORE ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC ROLE ON ANGOLA, INCLUDING FORCEFUL PRESENTATION OF THEIR CASE TO US. MOBUTU INDICATED HIS DESIRE TO ASSESS RESULTS OF FIRST STEP BEFORE DECIDING HOW FAR ZAIRE COULD GO ON SECOND. AS FOR COMPOSITION OF DELEGATION TO GO TO US, MOBUTU THOUGHT IT SHOULD INCLUDE THOSE COUNTRIES VISITED BY ASST SEC SHAUFELE (I.E., ZAIRE, GABON, CAMEROON, IVORY COAST AND SENEGAL) PLUS ZAMBIA AND PERHAPS KENYA.

3. I BEGAN BY REITERATING OUR ADMIRATION FOR HIS PAST AND PRESENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS ON ANGOLA AND OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE LENDING ALL POSSIBLE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION. IN THIS REGARD, I ASSURED MOBUTU OF OUR READINESS TO HELP IN SECURITY COUNCIL IN SUPPORT OF ZAIRE'S LETTER CONCERNING DILOLO ATTACK. I NOTED THAT IN ITS FINAL FORM LETTER HAD NOT REQUESTED UN INVESTIGATION OF INCIDENT, THEREBY AVOIDING POSSIBLE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE. I ALSO SUGGESTED THAT SUPPORT OF OTHER AFRICAN STATES MIGHT ENLISE TO GIVE ADDED WEIGHT TO ZAIRE'S CHARGES. MOBUTU EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR OUR WILLINGNESS TO HELP AND SAID GOZ HAD NO INTENTION AT THIS POINT OF GOING BEYOND MERELY INFORMING UN OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED. HE NOTED WITH SATISFACTION PUBLICITY ZAIRE'S MOVE HAD ALREADY ATTRACTED - VOA, BBC, WORLD PRESS - AS WELL AS SENSITIVE REACTION FROM SOVIETS. HE AGREED SEEK ADDITIONAL AFRICAN SUPPORT, AND ALSO TO BE READY WITH STIFF REBUTTAL IF ANGOLA INJECTED INTO SC DEBATE ON NAMIBIA LATER THIS MONTH.

4. WE THEN MOVED TO POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR VISIT TO US BY NGUZA AND DELEGATION OF AFRICAN MODERATES. BEFORE I COULD GO VERY FAR, MOBUTU BROKE IN TO SAY THAT IN HIS EYES THERE WERE TWO ESSENTIAL STEPS: THE FIRST AND BY FAR MOST IMPORTANT WAS OBTAINING US ASSURANCES WITH RESPECT TO ZAIRE'S SECURITY IN THE FACE OF THE SOVIET THREAT; FOR THIS NGUZA SHOULD GO TO WASHINGTON SOONEST TO DELIVER MOBUTU'S LETTER TO PRES FORD AND TO DISCUSS MATTERS WITH HIGH US OFFICIALS. SECOND, GALVANIZE KEY AFRICAN MODERATES TO PLAY MORE ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC ROLE ON ANGOLA, INCLUDING FORCEFUL PRESENTATION OF THEIR CASE TO US. MOBUTU INDICATED HIS DESIRE TO ASSESS RESULTS OF FIRST STEP BEFORE DECIDING HOW FAR ZAIRE COULD GO ON SECOND. AS FOR COMPOSITION OF DELEGATION TO GO TO US, MOBUTU THOUGHT IT SHOULD INCLUDE THOSE COUNTRIES VISITED BY ASST SEC SHAUFELE (I.E., ZAIRE, GABON, CAMEROON, IVORY COAST AND SENEGAL) PLUS ZAMBIA AND PERHAPS KENYA.

5. I SAID WE FULLY UNDERSTOOD MOBUTU'S CONCERNS RE ZAIRE'S
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 021311

SECURITY, AND WE WERE ALSO PLEASED BY HIS CONTINUED READINESS TO PLAY LEADING ROLE AMONG MODERATES ON ANGOLA. I THEN SAID I THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE WAY TO KILL TWO BIRDS WITH ONE STONE: WHILE DEPT WAS READY TO RECEIVE NGUZA ON SEPARATE MISSION, IT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE TO HAVE HIM PLAY EFFECTIVE ROLE AS MEMBER OF AFRICAN DELEGATION AND AT SAME TIME UTILIZE GROUP VISIT TO HOLD SEPARATE, BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON SECURITY MATTERS. I ADDED THAT, WHILE I WAS SURE DEPT WOULD CONSIDER ADDITIONAL AFRICAN VISITORS,

IT HAD SPECIFICALLY INDICATED READINESS TO WELCOME DELEGATION OF EITHER CHIEFS OF STATE OR OTHER HIGH OFFICIALS FROM ZAIRE, ZAMBIA CAMEROON AND SENEGAL. MOBUTU WAS VISIBLY PLEASED BY IDEA OF CHIEFS OF STATE GOING TO WASHINGTON. HOWEVER, AFTER SOME THOUGHT AND FURTHER DISCUSSION, HE INDICATED (1) THAT NGUZA SHOULD GO AS PART OF AFRICAN DELEGATION AND (2) THAT IN ORDER TO AVOID DELAYS AND COMPLICATIONS, DELEGATION SHOULD BE AT FONMIN LEVEL AND LIMITED TO FOUR COUNTRIES WE HAD SUGGESTED. HE SAID NGUZA COULD BE DISPATCHED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY TO SEEK AGREEMENT OF THE OTHER GOVTS, STARTING WITH ZAMBIA THIS WEEKEND. IF OTHER AGREES, DELEGATION SHOULD BE READY TO PROCEED TO WASHINGTON BY THE END OF NEXT WEEK. HE REITERATED, HOWEVER, THAT NGUZA COULD NOT NEGLECT ZAIRE'S OWN, URGENT SECURITY PROBLEMS DURING COURSE OF VISIT. MOBUTU MADE NO MENTION OF BULA'S SEEING THE SECRETARY AND I DID NOT RAISE THIS MATTER EITHER.

6. MOBUTU WENT ON TO DISCUSS IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING TOGETHER 23 AFRICAN MODERATES IN THE FACE OF CONTINUING MPLA/SOVIET EFFORTS TO ERODE THEIR RANKS HE SAID HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT TWO OF THEM, AND HE NEEDED OUR HELP. THEY WERE UGANDA AND RWANDA. AMIN WAS UNPREDICTABLE AND SUSCEPTIBLE TO INDUCEMENTS FROM ANY QUARTER. MOBUTU SAID HE HAD WORKED HARD TO KEEP HIM POINTED IN RIGHT DIRECTION

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AND THAT THIS HAD REQUIRED CONSTANT CARE AT ADDIS. MOBUTU WOULD RENEW HIS EFFORTS WHEN HE VISITS KAMPALA AGAIN JAN 24. WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE, MOBUTU ASKED, FOR HIM TO CARRY TO AMIN SOME ADDITIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT REGARDING US WILLINGNESS TO MOVE TOWARD REESTABLISHING RELATIONS? MOBUTU THOUGHT THIS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE WOULD HELP KEEP AMIN IN LINE. I REMINDED MOBUTU OF OUR POSITIVE RESPONSE ALREADY CONVEYED TO AMIN BY BULA AT THE OAU SUMMIT, AND NOTED THAT REESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WAS SELDOM SOMETHING THAT COULD BE DONE OVERNIGHT. HOWEVER, I ASSURED MOBUTU I WOULD CONVEY HIS REQUEST TO WASHINGTON.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 021311

7. ON RWANDA, MOBUTU SAID HIS MOST RECENT CONTACTS WITH PRES HABYARIMANA INDICATED THAT, DESPITE LATTER'S FIRM AND COURAGEOUS STAND AGAINST MPLA RECOGNITION TO DATE, HEAVY PRESSURES FROM THE OTHER SIDE WERE MOUNTING FAST. COULD THE US NOT HELP BY DOING SOMETHING (E.G., INCREASED AID, SOME POLITICAL GESTURE) THAT WOULD SERVE TO FORTIFY HABYARIMANA'S WILL? I ACKNOWLEDGED RWANDA'S HELPFUL STAND AND AGAIN PROMISED TO PASS ON MOBUTU'S REQUEST.

8 COMMENT/ACTION REQUESTED: IT IS EVIDENT MOBUTU TAKES PRIDE IN HIS DIPLOMATIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DATE AND INTENDS TO GO ON PLAYING ACTIVE ROLE. WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO TELL FROM HERE WHETHER THERE IS ANY BASIS FOR HIS FEARS RE UGANDA AND RWANDA, I SUGGEST WE CONSIDER HIS WARNINGS CAREFULLY. SINCE MOBUTU LEAVES JAN 24 FOR VISIT TO UGANDA (AND PERHAPS ALSO RWANDA), I WILL NEED TO

RECEIVE BEFORE THEN WHATEVER RESPONSE DEPT CAN MAKE IF WE WISH
TO STRENGTHEN HIS HAND. DEPT MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER INSTRU-
TING EMBASSY KIGALI TO MAKE RENEWED PITCH TO PRES HABYARIMANA.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE, CAT-C, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, VISITS, NATIONAL SECURITY THREATS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE021311
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: FVORTIZ
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X2
Errors: N/A
Film Number: N760001-0622
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760112/aaaaakjd.tel
Line Count: 175
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 76 STATE 14140
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 MAY 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <08 SEP 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ANGOLA: CONSULTATION WITH MOBUTU JAN 21
TAGS: PFOR, AO, CG, XA, US, (MOBUTU SESE SEKO), (NGUZA)
To: LUSAKA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006